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SPECIAL ISSUE

General view of the Conference

SUMMIT CONFERENCE OF INDOCHINESE PEOPLES

IN face of US aggression now spreading all over Indochina, the Summit Conference of the Indochinese Peoples was held on April 24 and 25, 1970. Present at that meeting were the delegations of the peoples of Cambodia, Laos, the Rep blic of South Viet Nam and the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, Head of State of Cambodia and President of the National United Front of Kampuchea, delivered the opening and closing speeches.

The Conference adopted a Joint Declaration signed by the four heads of delegation.

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On the evening of April 25, Premier Chou En-lai of the Chinese People's Republic gave a grand reception in honour of the four delegations.

On April 26, the four heads of delegation gave a grand banquet in honour of Premier Chou En-lai.

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Up to now, statements were released by the governments of the Chinese People's Republic, the Albanian People's Republic and the Korean People's Democratic Republic, and messages sent by A.N. Kosygin, Chairman of the Soviet Council of Ministers and Kim Il Sung, Prime Minister of the K.P.D.R., to hail the historic Summit Conference of the Indochinese Peoples.

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JOINT DECLARATION

THE Summit Conference of the Indochinese peoples was held on April 24 and 25, 1970 in a locality of the Laos - Viet Nam - China border area, on the initiative of Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, Head of State of Cambodia and President of the National United Front of Kampuchea (FUNK). The three peoples of Indochina were represented by four delegations:

The delegation of the Cambodian people comprised :

— Samdech NORODOM SIHANOUK, Head of State of Cambodia, President of the National United Front of Kampuchea (FUNK), Head of delegation,

— Samdech PENN NOUTH, private Advisor to the Head of State, delegate of FUNK, deputy head,

— Mr. HOUT SAMBATH, Ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary, delegate of FUNK,

— Mr. SARIN CHHAK, Ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary, delegate of FUNK,

— Mr. CHAU SENG, delegate of FUNK,

— Mr. THIOUNN MUMM, delegate of FUNK,

— Mr. ROEURING MACH, delegate of FUNK.

The delegation of the Lao people comprised :

— His Highness Prince SOUPHANOUVONG, President of the Lao Patriotic Front, Head of delegation,

— Mr. KHAMSOUK KEOLA, Chairman of the Committee of the Alliance of Lao Patriotic Neutralist Forces, deputy head,

— Mr. PHOUMI VONGVICHIT, Secretary General of the Central Committee of the Lao Patriotic Front, deputy head,

— Mr. KHAMPHAY BOUPHA, member of the Central Committee of the Lao Patriotic Front,

— Mr. OUN HEUAN PHOUNSAVATH, deputy director of the Information Bureau of the Lao Patriotic Front in Hanoi.

The delegation of the people of the Republic of South Viet Nam comprised :

— Lawyer NGUYEN HUU THO, President of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation, President of the Advisory Council of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam, Head of delegation,

— Lawyer TRINH DINH THAO, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Alliance of National, Democratic and Peace Forces, Vice-President of the Advisory Council of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam, deputy head,

— Mrs. NGUYEN DINH CHI, Vice-Chairman of the Thua Thien - Hue Revolutionary People's Committee, Vice-Chairman of the Committee of the Alliance of National, Democratic and Peace Forces for Hue city, member of the Advisory Council of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam,

— Mr. LE QUANG CHANH, member of the Central Committee of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation, Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam,

— Professor NGUYEN VAN HIEU, member of the Central Committee of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation, Ambassador of the Republic of South Viet Nam to Cambodia,

— Mr. VO DONG GIANG, member of the Central Committee of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation.

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JOINT DECLARATION

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The delegation of the people of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam comprised:

— Mr. PHAM VAN DONG, Prime Minister of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, Head of delegation,

— Mr. HOANG QUOC VIET, member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Fatherland Front, deputy head,

— Mr. HOANG MINH GIAM, member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Fatherland Front, Minister of Culture of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam,

— Mr. NGUYEN CO THACH, Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam,

— Mr. NGUYEN THUONG, Ambassador of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam to Cambodia.

THE conference has exchanged opinions and reached unanimity of views on the present situation in Indochina and on the struggle of the three Indochinese peoples against the common enemy, the US imperialist aggressors and their agents.

The three peoples of Cambodia, Laos and Viet Nam, living together on the Indochinese peninsula, are closely bound to one another by time-honoured friendly relations. After long years of heroic struggle against the French colonialists and the US interventionists, they have won independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity. These national rights have been recognized and guaranteed by the 1954 Geneva Agreements.

During the past fifteen years, in a bid to realize their dream of world hegemony, the US imperialists have schemed to turn the Indochinese countries into neo-colonies and military bases with a view to exploiting the peoples of Indochina, quelling the national-liberation movement in Indochina and South-East Asia and opposing the socialist and other independent countries in Asia.

They have impudently trampled underfoot the Cambodian, Lao and South Vietnamese peoples' aspirations for independence, peace and neutrality, grossly encroached on the sovereignty and security of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, systematically sabotaged the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Indochina and the 1962 Geneva Agreements on Laos, jeopardizing peace and security in South-East Asia and the world.

They have launched a most savage "local war" against the Vietnamese people, waged an atrocious "special war" against the Lao people and increased their nefarious schemes of encirclement, provocation and subversion against Cambodia. They have perpetrated most savage crimes on the Indochinese peninsula.

US imperialism is a real neo-fascism, the international gendarme, the most cruel and most dangerous enemy of the Indochinese peoples and mankind.

FACING this common enemy, the Indochinese peoples have fought side by side to defend their sacred national rights.

Under the leadership of their Head of State Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, the Khmer people have foiled all the US imperialists' attempts at encirclement, provocation and subversion and, thereby contributed to foiling their schemes to set up a system of military bases extending from South Viet Nam to Thailand, and including Laos and Cambodia. During the past fifteen years, the Khmer people have succeeded in preserving an independent, peaceful and neutral Cambodia and endeavoured to build an independent economy and develop their flourishing national culture. The prestige of independent, peaceful and neutral Cambodia has unceasingly been raised in the international arena.

Under the leadership of the Lao Patriotic Front headed by his Highness Prin e Souphanouvong, the Lao people are defeating the US "special war" and the nibbling attacks by US agents, and have built up an ever steadier liberated zone. They have waged a valiant and tenacious struggle to safeguard the 1962 Geneva Agreements against the US aggressors and their agents who, under the signboard of fake independence and neutrality, have betrayed the Lao people's supreme interests; by steady steps they are advancing toward the building of a truly peaceful, independent, neutral, democratic, united and prosperous Laos.

In response to the venerated President Ho Chi Minh's sacred appeal for resistance to US aggression, for national salvation, the Vietnamese people have fought in unity and recorded big victories in their struggle to liberate South Viet Nam, to defend North Viet Nam and advance toward peaceful reunification of the Fatherland. Under the glorious banner of the National Front for Liberation, the South Vietnamese people have foiled the "special war" and are defeating the extremely atrocious "local war" waged by the United States and its henchmen. The people of the North united in the Fatherland Front, have defeated the US war of destruction while successfully pursuing the building of socialism and fulfilling all the obligations of the "great rear" toward the heroic "great front."

THE brilliant victories of the three Indochinese peoples have smashed the arrogance of the US imperialists, ringleader of imperialism, and the most ferocious enemy of mankind, causing to them tremendous difficulties in the United States and the world. These victories have shown that, for all their brutal force, the US imperialists are beaten when they encroach on the sacred right to life of a people united and determined to fight through to the end for the independence and freedom of its Fatherland; they constitute an important contribution and a great encouragement to the world people's struggle for independence and peace.

These most important and most glorious victories are victories of the ardent patriotism, of the spirit of indomitable struggle of the three Indochinese peoples, each having its glorious history of struggle against foreign aggression and a more-than-millenary and brilliant civilization. These are victories of the just and clearsighted policy advocated by the esteemed leaders of the peoples of Cambodia, Laos and Viet Nam. These are victories of the fraternal friendship and militant solidarity binding the three peoples' friendship and brotherhood which have overcome all trials, and consolidated and strengthened day after day. The 1965 Conference of the Indochinese Peoples and the present Summit Conference of the Indochinese Peoples greatly contribute to the strengthening and consolidation of this fraternal friendship and militant solidarity. These victories of the three Indochinese peoples are also victories of the sympathy and wide and strong support extended by the world's people to their just cause.

Though suffering heavy defeats, the US imperialists, still obdurate in their designs, have not given up their criminal aggressive schemes against the Indochinese peoples. Since Nixon took office, the United States has made every effort to "Vietnamize" the war with a view to prolonging it and perpetuating the US military occupation of South Viet Nam; it has stepped up the "special war" in Laos and carried out nibbling attacks on the Plain of Jars - Xieng Khouang area and other places of the liberated zone in Laos where it has introduced a great number of Thai mercenaries; with the US-paid Lon Nol - Sirik Matak clique it staged the March 18, 1970 coup d'état against the Khmer people and Head of State Samdech Norodom Sihanouk's policy which essentially aims at safeguarding the peace, independence and neutrality of Cambodia and at strengthening the solidarity and friendship among the Indochinese peoples. On April 20 last, US President Nixon once again showed extreme obduracy by harping on his fallacious allegations about peace and rehashing his perfidious manoeuvres about the withdrawal of troops and at the same time impudently distorting the patriotic struggle of the three Indochinese peoples. These shopworn allegations and manoeuvres definitely cannot shake the Vietnamese, Cambodian and Lao peoples' iron will to strengthen their solidarity and step up their struggle until total victory. These allegations and manoeuvres cannot appease public opinion in the United States and the world which is vehemently condemning Nixon's policy of "Vietnamization" of the war, of prolonging and expanding it to the whole of Indochina, and is demanding that the Nixon administration withdraw rapidly all US troops from Viet Nam and end its intervention and aggression against the Indochinese countries. It is crystal clear that at present the US imperialists are seeking every means to prolong and widen the war in Indochina, seriously threatening peace in South-East Asia and the world. To resolutely stop and smash all schemes and acts of the US warmongers becomes an urgent demand at the present time.

AT this historic moment, the Summit Conference of the Indochinese Peoples earnestly calls on the three peoples to strengthen their solidarity and wage a heroic and tenacious fight, to overcome all hardships and accept all sacrifices with the firm resolve to defeat the US imperialists and their agents, to defend their sacred national rights, to defend the fundamental principles of the 1954 and 1962 Geneva Agreements so as to make Indochina a truly independent and peaceful area in conformity with the aspirations of the three peoples and the interests of peace in South-East Asia and the world.

The Cambodian, Lao and South Vietnamese parties affirm that their combat objectives are independence, peace, neutrality, prohibition of the presence of all foreign troops or military bases on their soil, non-participation in any military alliance; prohibition of the use of their territories by any foreign country for purpose of aggression against other countries. These are the deep aspirations of the peoples of Cambodia, Laos and South Viet Nam, in conformity with the fundamental principles of the 1954 and 1962 Geneva Agreements and with the general situation in this part of the world. The people of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam fully respect these legitimate aspirations and unreservedly support the struggle for these lofty objectives.

The conference shows special concern for the present situation in Cambodia. It expresses its resolute support to the heroic struggle of the Khmer people who, responding to the appeal of Head of State Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, have risen up throughout the country and are waging a staunch struggle, with arms in hands and under other forms, with the firm determination to oust the Lon Nol - Sirik Matak coup d'état clique and to foil the US imperialists' schemes of aggression. It expresses its full support to the March 23, 1970 five-point proclamation of Head of State Samdech Norodom Sihanouk. It sternly condemns the wholesale massacre of defenceless civilians, of Cambodians, of Vietnamese and Chinese residents, by the Lon Nol - Sirik Matak fascist and racist clique aimed at covering up the US imperialists' intervention and aggression. It strongly condemns all attempts by the United States, its agents and other Asian reactionaries at misusing the name of the UNO or any organization or any international or Asian conference in order to legitimize the illegal power of the Lon Nol - Sirik Matak reactionaries and to interfere in Cambodia. It is deeply convinced that the Khmer people's struggle for an independent, peaceful and neutral Cambodia will be crowned with glorious victory.

The conference expresses its resolute support to the valiant struggle of the Lao people, under the leadership of the Lao Patriotic Front, against the US imperialists and their lackeys. It affirms its full support to the March 6, 1970 five-point statement of the Central Committee of the Lao Patriotic Front. The US imperialists must end their war of aggression, halt all bombing of the Lao territory, withdraw from Laos all US and Thai satellite troops and let the Lao people settle the affairs of Laos.

The conference expresses its resolute support to the tenacious and heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people against the US imperialist aggressors and their lackeys and affirms its full support to the ten-point overall solution of the National Front for Liberation and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam. The US imperialists must withdraw from South Viet Nam rapidly, totally and unconditionally the US troops and troops of the other foreign countries of the US camp and let the Vietnamese people settle themselves their own affairs without foreign interference.

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SAMDECH NORODOM SIHANOUK'S OPENING SPEECH

(April 24, 1970)

Mr. President of the Presidium,
Mr. Prime Minister,
Your Highness,
Your Excellencies,
Dear brothers and sisters,

FIRST of all, allow me to extend my heartfelt and affectionate thanks to the Delegation of the Lao People, the Delegation of the People of the DRVN and the Delegation of the People of South Viet Nam for their noble gesture in inviting a Cambodian to open this historic Summit Conference of the Indochinese Peoples.

It is true that in 1965, I had the honour of taking the initiative of bringing together our three peoples in a conference of fraternity and militant solidarity, and that my country, Cambodia, and its capital, Phnom Penh, had the privilege of welcoming the distinguished delegates from the fraternal countries of Laos and Viet Nam.

Today US imperialism and its lackeys have turned me and my anti-imperialist companions into exiles who have to fight to get again the right to return with their heads high into our beloved Fatherland.

We are all the more touched by your invitation for me to open and to close this conference as we have not the possibility of playing hosts to it as was the case in 1965.

Your gesture is an eloquent evidence of the esteem, unalterable friendship and unshakable support that the Vietnamese and Lao peoples extend to the fraternal people of Cambodia. It is all the more significant in this so dark and so sorrowful period of our History and our national life.

For this, we express to you as well as to the great and glorious fraternal people of the People's Republic of China whose government has done so much for us, our eternal gratitude.

Dear brothers and sisters,

IF we, Khmers, are extremely saddened by the misfortune into which a handful of fascist and neo-nazi traitors, agents of US imperialism, has plunged our country, the Khmer people and also the peaceful Vietnamese residents, we feel greatly encouraged by the very happy prospects which this conference will not fail to offer to the future of our Fatherland and its people as well as to that of Laos and Viet Nam, that of the Lao and Vietnamese peoples.

Contrary to certain international conferences, the first Conference of the Indochinese Peoples, far from being a "disappointment," brought about during the years 1965-1966-1967-1968 and 1969 splendid "fruits" which have been translated into an increasingly close, militant and powerful union, solidarity and mutual help among our three peoples struggling for the triumph of the same ideals of freedom, independence, peace and justice and against the enemies, saboteurs and destroyers of these ideals.

To be sure, these enemies have, for their part, increased their violence and material power in their aggressions; they have "escalated" their war against our three peoples; they have savagely bombed North Viet Nam and Laos, they have managed to divide the Lao people and have driven into the maquis all Lao patriots and progressives; they have just managed to install in Phnom Penh an illegal, anti-popular and pro-imperialist government.

But all this represents merely the last throes of a dying person, of moribund US imperialism; it is merely a sign of the fear and despair of the imperialists who see their last hour coming too fast in Indochina.

They already admitted the total defeat inflicted on them by the DRVN when they stopped their savage but ineffective bombardments against North Viet Nam.

They have been beaten by the Lao Patriotic Front in the Plain of Jars and in other areas of Laos, and have admitted their ineffectiveness when enlisting there the help of the shabby Thailand mercenaries.

They have admitted their telling and irreversible defeat in the face of the heroic, anti-imperialist soldiers and people's forces of South Viet Nam when renouncing the "Americanization" of the so-called South Viet Nam war and turning again to

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JOINT DECLARATION

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In face of the perfidious schemes of the United States to carry out the "Nixon doctrine," of making Asians fight Asians, sowing discord and provoking chauvinistic hatred among the three peoples of Cambodia, Laos and Viet Nam, the conference calls on the three peoples to heighten their vigilance, strengthen their solidarity, step up the fight against the common enemy — American imperialism and its lackeys in the three countries—until total victory.

Proceeding from the principle that the liberation and the defence of each country are the business of its people, the various parties pledge to do all they can to give one another reciprocal support according to the desire of the party concerned and on the basis of mutual respect.

The parties affirm their determination to preserve and develop the fraternal friendship and the good-neighbour relations between the three countries, with a view to mutual support in the struggle against the common enemy and to lasting future co-operation in the building of each country according to its own way. As regards the relations between the three countries, the parties are determined to abide by the five principles of peaceful co-existence: mutual respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-aggression, mutual respect for the political regime of each country and non-interference in the internal affairs of others, equality and mutual benefit, peaceful co-existence. The parties respect the fundamental principles of the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Indochina, recognize and pledge to respect the territorial integrity of Cambodia within her existing borders and respect the 1962 Geneva Agreements on Laos. The parties affirm that all problems arising in the relations between the three countries can be solved through negotiations in a spirit of mutual respect, mutual understanding and mutual assistance.

The parties agree that meetings will take place when necessary between summit-level leaders or between competent representatives for exchanges of views on problems of common interest.

The Summit Conference of the Indochinese Peoples expresses its sincere and deep gratitude for the valuable sympathy and support of the world's people. The conference calls on the peoples and governments of the socialist countries, of peace- and justice-loving countries in the world and on the American people, to strongly condemn the US imperialists' aggression and intervention, to demand an immediate end to this aggression and intervention and to give increasing support to the just struggle of the three Indochinese peoples until final victory.

The conference expresses its full support to the struggle of the world's people for peace, independence, democracy and social progress, against the aggressive and bellicose US imperialists, against all forms of colonialism and neo-colonialism, to the struggle of Asian, African and Latin American peoples for independence and freedom, to the struggle of the Chinese people to recover Taiwan, an inseparable territory of the People's Republic of China, to the struggle of the Korean people against the US imperialist aggressors to liberate the southern part of the country and reunify Korea, to the struggle of the Arab people for their fundamental national rights, against the Israeli aggressors in the US imperialists' pay, to the struggle of the American people against the war of aggression, against racial discrimination, for peace and the genuine interests of the people of the United States.

The conference considers that the present situation is more favourable than ever to the Indochinese peoples in their struggle against US aggression, for national salvation. Never before have the imperialist aggressors met with so many setbacks and so many difficulties, and been so seriously weakened and isolated as at present. The Indochinese peoples are struggling for a just cause, they have a correct policy, and an unshakable resolve; they have forged an indestructible solidarity; moreover, as never before, they possess considerable forces and enjoy vigorous sympathy and support from the peoples of the world. The conference expresses its firm conviction that the three Indochinese peoples, with the impetus of their victories, will make the fullest use of their position of initiative and offensive, unflaggingly carry on and push up the fight on all fronts, and infallibly win total victory.

Done on April 25th of the year one thousand nine hundred and seventy in the Khmer, Lao and Vietnamese languages. The French text will serve as reference.

THE HEAD OF THE DELEGATION OF THE PEOPLE OF THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF VIET NAM

PHAM VAN DONG

Prime Minister of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam

THE HEAD OF THE DELEGATION OF THE CAMBODIAN PEOPLE

NORODOM SIHANOUK

Head of State of Cambodia, President of the National United Front of Kampuchea

THE HEAD OF THE DELEGATION OF THE LAO PEOPLE

PRINCE SOUPHANOUVONG

President of the Lao Patriotic Front

THE HEAD OF THE DELEGATION OF THE PEOPLE OF THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH VIET NAM

NGUYEN HUU THO

President of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation

President of the Advisory Council of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam

PRINCE SOUPHANOUVONG'S SPEECH

Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, Head of State of Cambodia,

Mr. Prime Minister Pham Van Dong,

Mr. President Nguyen Huu Tho,

Messrs delegates,

THE first Conference of the Indochinese Peoples convened five years ago at the initiative of Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, Head of State of Cambodia, marked a new development of the militant solidarity between the three peoples of Laos, Cambodia and Viet Nam against the common enemy, the US imperialist aggressors.

This time, also at the initiative of Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, the Summit Conference of the Indochinese Peoples is held at the very moment when the Nixon administration, notwithstanding the heavy setbacks it has sustained on the battlefields of Indochina, is bent on intensifying its war escalation in Laos, dragging out the war of aggression in South Viet Nam through its "Vietnamization" policy, it has engineered a coup d'état in Cambodia and is plotting to extend the war to the whole of Indochina. This Conference which meets the urgent demands of the situation bears a very great significance as it strengthens and consolidates the solidarity and friendship between Laos, Cambodia and Viet Nam and heightens the determination of the three peoples to fight against the US imperialist aggressors in defence of national independence and for a lasting peace in Indochina and South-East Asia.

The Delegation of the Lao People is very happy to take part in this Conference. It wishes to convey its heartiest congratulations to the Delegation of the Khmer People, the Delegation of the People of the Republic of South Viet Nam and the Delegation of the People of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, the authentic representatives of the fraternal Khmer and Vietnamese peoples, incarnating their noble national aspirations.

Known for their traditional ties of friendship, Laos, Cambodia and Viet Nam united during many years of their heroic struggle, have recorded brilliant victories and recovered their independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity. These national rights of our three countries have been reaffirmed by the 1954 Geneva Agreements.

However, the US imperialists have shirked their responsibilities under the Geneva Agreements. They have deliberately pursued their unchanged manoeuvres of aggression against the countries in Indochina, with a view to turning them into neo-colonies and military bases. All along the past sixteen years, the Lao, Khmer and Vietnamese peoples, highly conscious of their responsibilities to history, have unceasingly struggled against these perfidious manoeuvres of aggression of the US imperialists, and have recorded big successes, especially in recent years.

The Vietnamese people, responding to the appeal of Great President Ho Chi Minh, have been closing their ranks in fighting and in production, and have won many big victories in the struggle against US aggression, for national salvation, and in the building of socialism. North Viet Nam has defeated the war of destruction conducted by the United States and turned itself into a solid rear for the fighting front against US aggression. The people of South Viet Nam, closely united around the National Front for Liberation, have defeated the "special war" and are bringing to failure the "local war" conducted by the US imperialists, the most barbarous war in human history.

This heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people has greatly contributed to the fight jointly conducted by the Indochinese peoples against US aggression, for national salvation, and exerted a very great influence on the national-liberation movement in the world.

The Khmer people, under the leadership of Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, have frustrated all US manoeuvres of intervention designed to cause Cambodia to depart from its policy of independence, peace and neutrality, they have been able to preserve their independence and freedom, to build a more and more prosperous Cambodia and heighten the prestige of their country in the international arena. The successes of the policy of independence, peace, and neutrality pursued by Samdech Norodom Sihanouk have, in fact, greatly contributed to the militant solidarity of our three peoples against the US imperialist aggressors.

The Delegation of the Lao People warmly hails these big victories of the two fraternal peoples as factors really favourable to the Lao people's struggle.

With regard to Laos, during the past sixteen years, the United States has pursued an extremely cruel policy of aggression in an attempt to turn this Kingdom into a US neo-colony and military base.

Right after the signing of the 1954 Geneva Agreements, the United States began intervening in the affairs of Laos. On their own authority they placed Laos under the "protective umbrella" of the SEATO aggressive bloc, overthew the National Union Government set up in 1957, had illegally jailed patriotic leaders, disarmed the fighting units of the Pathet Lao, and rekindled the war in Laos.

Intrepid and indomitable the fighting units of the Pathet Lao and the entire Lao people under the leadership of the Lao Patriotic Front have valiantly stood up against the US aggressors and their agents in defence of their Fatherland. The ardent patriotic movement throughout the country led a number of officers and men in the enemy ranks to rise up and together with a number of progressive personalities, they overthrew the reactionary administration, founded the neutralist forces, and entered into alliance with the Lao Patriotic Front to fight, together with the rest of the people, against the US aggressors and their henchmen.

Through their persevering military and political struggle and with the brilliant victory of Nam Tha, the Lao people won victory by compelling the United States to recognize the Coalition Government with the participation of representatives of the patriotic forces, to sign the 1962 Geneva Agreements on Laos and to recognize once again the independence, sovereignty, unity, territorial integrity of Laos. The US imperialists and their agents suffered a defeat. However, immediately afterward, they undertook to undermine cynically the National Union Government of Laos and trampled underfoot these international agreements. Starting with the assassination of patriotic personalities who stand for peace and neutrality, the US imperialists eventually overthrew the National Union Government and set up a reactionary government camouflaged behind a façade of "peace and neutrality" and headed by Prince Souvanna Phouma.

Through this reactionary government, the United States illicitly brought into Laos more arms and military personnel. It made every effort to build a more than 70,000-strong puppet army including more than 20,000 "Special Forces" troops organized and directly commanded by Americans. On the other hand, it started a "special war" against the Lao people. Moreover, beginning May 1964, it overtly sent its air forces, mostly from US military bases in Thailand to carry out raids of destruction against Lao territory and provide air cover for the puppet forces during a series of nibbling operations against the liberated zone.

At the same time, they sought the most odious means — political, economic and cultural — to establish step by step a neo-colonial regime in the areas under their temporary control.

Since Nixon took office, the United States, applying the policy of making Asians fight Asians, has escalated the war in Laos, taking it to an unprecedented level of fierceness. The US air raids in Laos have reached such a point that the Western press has had to acknowledge that they have exceeded in intensity the air war of destruction conducted by the United States against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam.

During the last months of 1969 and the first months of 1970, US aircraft poured an average of 3,000 tons of bombs daily on Lao territory. In some days, more than one thousand sorties were flown against the liberated zone in Laos.

Since February 1970, the United States has even sent its B.52 strategic bombers against Northern Laos. The bombing raids have thus been extended to the whole of Laos with an exterminative character.

On the other, the Nixon administration has introduced many regular units of Thai troops into Laos for joint operations with the Lao puppet army and for large-scale attacks deep into the liberated zone under the control of the Lao patriotic forces.

Beginning August 1969, the United States mustered nearly fifty puppet battalions along with Thai units and the American "Green Berets," and with massive US air cover, to launch a most ferocious campaign against the strategic area of Xieng Khouang-Plain of Jars. During that campaign, the United States Air Force conducted extremely savage bombings and strafings while US-paid puppet troops, wherever they go, carried out looting, burnt down villages and slaughtered the innocent civilian population, sparing neither aged persons, nor women, children, bonzes. The Americans and their henchmen have sown widespread mournings and sufferings. These barbarous crimes have aroused the indignation of the whole mankind, invited condemnation from world public opinion, fanned up the hatred and strengthened the patriotism of the Lao people and patriotic armed forces.

Nevertheless, carrying out the "thief stop thief" trick, the US imperialists and their agents have continually slandered the Lao Patriotic Front and invented the fantastic story of "aggression against Laos by Viet Nam," with a view to dividing the Indochinese peoples and covering up the US aggression in Laos.

In fact, it is the Americans who have three times impeded and undermined the realization of national concord in Laos. They have overthrown the National Union Government wherein the patriotic forces were represented, and have trampled underfoot the 1954 and 1962 Geneva Agreements on Laos, and it is they who have continuously intensified the war of aggression in Laos.

Clearly, it is the US imperialists who have carried out systematic intervention and aggression in Laos. It is this US intervention and aggression which is at the origin of the grave situation now obtaining in Laos.

For genuine independence, peace and neutrality, and for the defence of the Geneva Agreements on Laos, the Lao people of all nationalities have united closely around the militant alliance comprising the Lao Patriotic Front and the →

Lao Patriotic Neutralist Forces, and have undertaken the struggle to preserve the independence and sovereignty of their country, to defend the liberated zone, and foil all the adventurous military actions of the US imperialists and their agents, they have thus meted out due punishment to them.

The armed forces and people of Laos have driven the enemy into the defensive, following heavy military defeats and an unprecedented political isolation. The enemy armed forces have been seriously weakened. Their morale has sunk to its lowest. The Vientiane administration headed by Prince Souvanna Phouma has proved to be a tool for the United States to conduct its "special war" and realize US neo-colonialism in Laos.

Along with the armed struggle, the Lao Patriotic Front had made public its 12-point Political Programme, a programme for national salvation and construction, and which meets the deep national aspirations of the Lao people and the interests of peace in Indochina and South-East Asia. And on March 6, it put forth the radiantly just 5-point Political Solution which has elicited approval and support from all peace- and justice-loving governments and peoples in the world, including the American people.

It is the unswerving stand of the LPF that the Lao problem must be settled on the basis of the 1962 Geneva Agreements and the realities of the present situation in Laos. Having committed intervention and aggression against Laos, the US must stop it. The Lao problem must be solved by the Lao concerned parties without US interference.

In order that conditions could be created which will enable the concerned Lao parties to meet, the US must, first of all, stop escalating the war and put a definitive end to all bombardment against the Lao territory, without posing any condition. If the US and its agents remain obdurate and do not recognize the legitimate demands of the Lao people they will be held entirely responsible for all consequences arising from their obstinacy.

Loyal to the Lao people's aspirations for the building of a peaceful, independent, neutral, democratic, united and prosperous Laos, the Lao Patriotic Front, the Lao Patriotic Neutralist Forces and the Lao people are resolved to fight till final victory.

In their tenacious and valiant struggle both in the military and in the political field, the Lao people have ceaselessly built their forces in all respects. Overcoming extremely hard trials, they have made great efforts in building and consolidating the liberated zone which accounts for two-thirds of the Lao territory and is inhabited by half of the country's population. Great achievements have been recorded there in economic construction and cultural development, the administration has been greatly consolidated; the liberated zone has become a solid base for the patriotic forces in their struggle for a peaceful, independent, neutral, democratic, united and prosperous Laos. The militant alliance between the LPF and the LPNF has been strengthening day by day. The Lao People's Liberation Army and the LPNF have matured ideologically and organizationally, as well as in technique and tactics. The prestige of the LPF and that of the LPNF have been enhanced incessantly both at home and abroad. These achievements constitute brilliant victories of the Lao people and also fundamental factors guaranteeing the definitive victory of the Lao people's struggle for national independence, peace and neutrality.

These victories have been won thanks to the correct political line of the LPF, to the sustained efforts and determination to unite in struggle of the Lao patriotic forces and the entire Lao people who have tenaciously and firmly held in hands the standard of independence, peace and neutrality. On the other hand, these victories are due to the solidarity and devoted assistance of the fraternal Khmer and Vietnamese peoples, the effective aid from the governments and peoples of the socialist countries, and the approval and support of all peace- and justice-loving peoples in the world, including the American people.

On behalf of the Lao people, the Delegation of the Lao People expresses here its deep gratitude to the fraternal Khmer and Vietnamese peoples for their wholehearted support to the just struggle of the Lao people.

The Delegation of the Lao People also exposes its sincere gratitude to the governments and peoples of the socialist countries and the peace- and justice-loving peoples of the world, including the American people, for the sympathy and support extended to the Lao people's struggle against the US imperialists, for national salvation.

THE brilliant victories of our three peoples have driven the US imperialists and their lackeys into a position of passivity and defeat in Indochina. The US imperialists are encountering the greatest difficulties both at home and in the world, the "Nixon doctrine" is heading for bankruptcy. Yet, the US imperialists are very obstinate, they do not want to give up their aggressive designs against the Indochinese countries. They are resorting to all perfidious means and tricks to ward off their defeat.

They are using Thai territory and the reactionary forces of Thailand and other Asian satellites for their plans of aggression in Indochina. While obdurately prolonging and intensifying their war of aggression in South Viet Nam and escalating their war in Laos, they have instigated the reactionary Lon Nol-Sirik Matak clique to rig up a regime of fascist dictatorship in Cambodia, and to prepare public opinion for an increased intervention in that country by themselves and their satellites and for the extension of the war to the whole of Indochina.

In face of these manoeuvres and tricks of the US imperialists, it is an urgent task and a question of life and death for the Indochinese peoples to strengthen the friendship and militant solidarity among them to foil all manoeuvres of the US imperialists and their flunkeys to prolong and extend the war.

For the struggle against the common enemy and for the building of their country in conformity with their own conditions, the Lao people affirm their fundamental stand as follows: to support with all their forces the South Vietnamese and Khmer peoples in the struggle to attain the common objectives of independence, peace and neutrality, to make indefatigable efforts to strengthen friendship and lasting relations of co-operation with Cambodia and Viet Nam on the basis of the five principles of peaceful co-existence and respect for the political regime of each country.

Proceeding both from their supreme national interests and from the interests of the peace and security of the Indochinese peoples, the Lao people are determined to fight shoulder to shoulder with the fraternal Khmer and Vietnamese peoples with a view to defeating the US imperialists' war of aggression in Laos, whatever the developments of the situation, so that the three countries may safeguard their independence and Indochina may become a zone of independence and peace in conformity with the aspirations of the three Indochinese peoples and the interests of peace in Indochina, South-East Asia and the world.

With regard to the fraternal Cambodian people, the Lao people reaffirm their unswerving policy of strict respect for Cambodia's independence, sovereignty, neutrality, unity and territorial integrity within her existing borders. We vehemently condemn the coup d'état engineered by the US and its agents. We sternly condemn the barbarous acts of terror committed by the fascist reactionary Lon Nol - Sirik Matak clique against the Vietnamese nationals in Cambodia. The Lao people fully respect the position of Samdech Norodom Sihanouk as the legal Head of State of Cambodia, firmly support the just struggle waged by the Khmer people against the US imperialist aggressors and the Lon Nol - Sirik Matak clique in keeping with the correct line laid down in the 5-point Proclamation of March 23, 1970 of Samdech Norodom Sihanouk. We are firmly convinced that the Khmer people's valiant struggle for independence, peace and neutrality will be crowned with a brilliant victory.

With regard to the Vietnamese people both in the North and in the South, the Lao people reaffirm the unshakable militant solidarity between the two fraternal peoples. We give our total support to the 10-point overall solution advanced by the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam, and to the 4-point stand of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. We demand that the US imperialists withdraw immediately and unconditionally all their troops and those of their satellites from South Viet Nam. We firmly support the Vietnamese people's resistance war till complete victory over the US aggression with a view to liberating the South, defending the North, ultimately achieving the peaceful reunification of their country, and building a peaceful, reunified, independent, democratic and prosperous Viet Nam.

The Delegation of the Lao People has just outlined the situation and stated its views concerning the problems of our three countries. These are also the problems our Delegation wishes to submit to the delegations of the fraternal peoples for discussion in our Conference.

The Delegation of the Lao People pledges its best efforts to help bring the Conference to a successful conclusion. We believe that our Conference will be crowned with brilliant successes. The Delegation of the Lao People avails itself of this opportunity to appeal to the peoples and governments of the socialist countries, the nationalist countries, and all other peace- and justice- loving countries in the world, to severely condemn the US intervention and aggression in Indochina, and to demand that the US imperialists stop immediately all acts tending to intensify the war in Laos and to prolong the war in Viet Nam, and their impudent intervention in Cambodia, which threaten to expand the war to the whole of Indochina. We call on the peoples and governments of these countries to extend increased support to the just struggle of the peoples of Laos as well as of Cambodia and Viet Nam, till final victory.

The Delegation of the Lao People unreservedly supports the struggle of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples for independence and freedom against old and new colonialism in all its forms, notably against US imperialism.

We unreservedly support the struggle of the world's people for peace, national independence, democracy and social progress.

Promoting their glorious national traditions in the impetus of the great victories already recorded, the Lao people are determined to strengthen further solidarity with the fraternal Khmer and Vietnamese peoples and extend wholehearted mutual support in order to defeat the US aggressors and their agents, and to safeguard the genuine independence and sovereignty of our country. With the unshakable determination of our three peoples, with the great sympathy, support and assistance of the governments and peoples of the socialist and nationalist countries and all other peace- and justice - loving governments and peoples in the world, including the American people, the struggle of our three peoples against US aggression, for national salvation is sure to end in total victory.

The Delegation of the Lao People expresses eager wishes for good success to the Conference and good health to all delegates.

PRESIDENT NGUYEN HUU THO'S SPEECH

Samdech Head of State Norodom Sihanouk,

Your Highness President Souphanouvong,

My dear brother Premier Pham Van Dong,

Your Highnesses,

Your Excellencies,

Dear friends,

MORE than ever before, the Nixon administration not only persists in prolonging the cruel war of aggression in South Viet Nam but also tries to widen it to the whole of Indochina, grossly trampling underfoot the independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of our three countries, and undermining the solidarity and friendship between our peoples.

The people of South Viet Nam, the Central Committee of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam warmly greet the initiative of Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, Head of State of the Kingdom of Cambodia, to convene the Summit Conference of the Indochinese Peoples, considering it a precious contribution to the struggle for the emancipation of our three peoples, a powerful blow dealt at the US imperialist aggressors and their lackeys, and a new development of the militant solidarity binding the Vietnamese, Khmer and Lao peoples.

In this atmosphere of friendship, allow our delegation to express to Samdech Head of State Norodom Sihanouk, to His Highness President Souphanouvong, and to our brother Premier Pham Van Dong the warmest greetings of the South Viet Nam people, the Central Committee of the National Front for Liberation and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam. We convey to the valiant peoples of Cambodia and Laos our most fraternal greetings and the assurance of our unshakable militant solidarity. We particularly ask our dear brother Premier Pham Van Dong to convey to our 17 million fellow-countrymen in North Viet Nam the profound affection and indectectible attachment of the 14 million South Vietnamese people.

Your Highnesses,

Your Excellencies,

Dear friends,

OUR three countries have for a century now been objects of aggression, first by the French colonialists, then the Japanese fascists and now the US imperialists. In the past 15 years, the US imperialists have conducted the most ferocious war of aggression in history against the Vietnamese people, and a "special war" against the Lao people, and have unceasingly sabotaged the independence, peace and neutrality of the Kingdom of Cambodia.

To preserve their existence, the Vietnamese, Khmer and Lao peoples have always tightened their solidarity, developed their tradition of patriotism, resolutely stood up against the US aggressors and their lackeys, and have successively foiled their cruel and perfidious manoeuvres.

Resolved to use their sacred right to self-determination, the South Vietnamese people, united like one man, under the leadership of the National Front for Liberation, side by side with their North Viet Nam fellow-countrymen have persistently conducted a sacred resistance war against US aggression and have recorded successive and very brilliant successes. Most particularly since early Spring 1968, the South Viet Nam armed forces and people have launched widespread offensives and uprisings and inflicted on the US imperialists and their agents very hard blows, forcing the enemy to shift from the strategy of offensive to that of defensive, thus tipping the balance of forces in favour of the South Viet Nam people. The national unity has strengthened following the founding of the Viet Nam Alliance of National, Democratic and Peace Forces. The liberated zone has unceasingly developed and expanded. The people's power has been set up from the grassroot to the central level. The formation of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam shows not only the maturity and development of the South Viet Nam patriotic forces in various fields, but also the inalterable will of the South Viet Nam people to carry on their struggle against US aggression till total victory.

These victories recorded by the South Viet Nam armed forces and people are due to the just political and military line of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation.

They are the fruits of the ardent patriotism, fighting will, courage and perseverance of the entire people of South Viet Nam and the People's Liberation Armed Forces who would rather make every sacrifice than live in slavery.

These victories spring from the invincible force of national unity of the entire Vietnamese people from North to South who are resolved to fight and defeat the US aggressors and their henchmen. They are the victory of the national sentiment and the profound love among all our compatriots at the front as well as in the rear.

These brilliant victories cannot be separated from the precious and efficacious support of the brother peoples of Cambodia, Laos, the socialist countries, and the peace- and justice-loving peoples and governments in the world, including the progressive people in the United States.

The South Viet Nam people express their great admiration for, and eternal gratitude to, the brother Khmer people who, under the clearsighted leadership of Samdech Head of State Norodom Sihanouk, have fought perseveringly and valiantly against imperialism to safeguard the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and neutrality of the Kingdom of Cambodia, and who, in the interest of the Vietnamese and Khmer peoples and for the sake of their militant solidarity against the common enemy, have reserved for the South Viet Nam people a considerable and precious support.

The South Viet Nam people express their great admiration for, and eternal gratitude to, the brother Lao people who, under the perspicacious leadership of the Lao Patriotic Front headed by His Highness President Souphanouvong have taken their persevering and valiant resistance to US aggression from one success to another and who have given efficacious support and assistance to the just cause of the South Viet Nam armed forces and people.

Allow us to express once again here, on behalf of the South Viet Nam people, our boundless gratitude for the considerable and efficacious support of the socialist countries, for the sympathy and precious support reserved for us by the friendly peoples and governments in the world including the American people, in our struggle against the US aggressors, for national salvation. This support and sympathy constitute an important contribution to our brilliant victories.

For their part, the people, the NFL and the PRG of the Republic of South Viet Nam wholeheartedly support the valiant struggle of the brother peoples of Cambodia and Laos against the US imperialist aggressors. We support the struggle of the Chinese people for the recovery of Taiwan, an integral part of China's territory; the struggle of the Korean people for the reunification of their country; the struggle of the Arab people for their fundamental national rights and against the Israeli aggressors, lackeys of the United States; the struggle of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples for national liberation; the struggle of the American people against the war of aggression and racial discrimination; and the struggle of the world's people for peace, democracy and social progress.

Samdech,

Your Highness President,

Your Excellencies,

Dear friends,

OUR struggle against US aggression, for national salvation, is advancing ever more impetuously and steadily. The war of aggression carried out by the US imperialists has in the main been defeated. The latter, however, remain very obdurate and perfidious.

At the Paris Conference on Viet Nam, they always elude the fundamental question, namely, the US must put an end to its aggression, totally and unconditionally withdraw US troops from South Viet Nam and let the South Viet Nam people settle themselves their own affairs without foreign interference, as proposed by the NFL and the PRG in their fair and reasonable ten-point overall solution.

In South Viet Nam, they have tried to carry out their plan for "Vietnamization" of the war with a view to prolonging the war and continuing the occupation of our country, making Vietnamese fight Vietnamese, maintaining neo-colonialism in South Viet Nam and perpetuating the division of our country.

Nixon's April 20 address has once again laid bare the stubborn and aggressive stand of US imperialism. Nixon's announcement of the withdrawal of 150,000 troops to be completed in the Spring of 1971 is but a manoeuvre to drag out the period of troop withdrawal so as to cope with the difficulties of all kinds that are confronting the United States, instead of ending the aggressive war in South Viet Nam. The settlement of the South Nam problem on the basis of respect for the independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of Viet Nam requires the total and unconditional pull-out of all US troops from South Viet Nam, but not of 50,000 or 150,000. The US aggressors' plot to drag out for a long period the withdrawal of troops to be carried out alongside the perpetration of innumerable crimes against the South Viet Nam population shows that they still nurture the vain hope of securing a position of strength on the battlefield and at the conference table, with a view to imposing their arrogant conditions on the South Viet Nam people in a settlement of the South Viet Nam problem.

But these are senseless calculations of an utterly obdurate and perfidious enemy driven into a position of irretrievable defeat.

Under the glorious banner of the NFL, the South Viet Nam people, carrying out the sacred teachings of President Ho Chi Minh and with the impetus of victory, are marching forward resolutely, with the determination to fight and defeat the US aggressors.

While conducting an aggressive war against South Viet Nam, the US imperialists have not ceased to violate the independence, neutrality, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Cambodia. But the Khmer people, endowed with a long tradition of patriotism and struggle against colonialism and imperialism, will never submit.

In the past 15 years, under the leadership of their Head of State, the Khmer people have foiled all manoeuvres of the US imperialists and their agents, and have known how to preserve their independence, peace, and neutrality, and build a prosperous country. They have warmly supported the national-liberation movement in Asia and the rest of the world, courageously supported the South Vietnamese people's struggle against US aggression, for national salvation, constantly enhanced solidarity and friendship with the other Indochinese peoples, thus continually raising Cambodia's prestige and position in the international arena. That is why the US imperialists have, in collusion with the Lon Nol - Sirik Matak reactionary clique, fomented the coup d'état of March 18, 1970 against the just and clearsighted line of Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, with the aim of "shifting Cambodia into the US camp" and using it to oppose the resistance of the Vietnamese people.

On orders from their American masters, the Lon Nol - Sirik Matak reactionary clique have carried out merciless repression of the Khmer patriots. On the other hand, they have colluded with the Saigon puppet administration to stab the South Viet Nam People's Liberation Armed Forces in the back, savagely massacred thousands of Vietnamese residents in Cambodia, impudently herded tens of thousands of others into concentration camps and submitted them to extremely inhuman treatment.

We indignantly denounce to world public opinion these barbarous crimes of the Lon Nol - Sirik Matak clique, lackeys of the US imperialists. We urgently call on

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PREMIER PHAM VAN DONG'S SPEECH

Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, Head of State of Cambodia, President of the National United Front of Kampuchea,

His Highness Prince Souphanouvong, President of the Lao Patriotic Front,

President Nguyen Huu Tho, President of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation,

Dear friends,

THE delegation of the people of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam extends its warm welcome to the heads and members of the fraternal delegations to the Summit Conference of the Indochinese Peoples convened at the initiative of Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, Head of State of Cambodia and President of the National United Front of Kampuchea. At this conference we wish to express the sincere gratitude of the Vietnamese people to the fraternal Khmer people and Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, and to the fraternal Lao people and His Highness Prince Souphanouvong, for their wholehearted support and assistance to our fight against US aggression, for national salvation. In particular, the people of South Viet Nam and of Viet Nam as a whole will never forget that Samdech Head of State Norodom Sihanouk is the leader of the fraternal neighbour country who recognized and established diplomatic relations at the earliest date with the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam. For us, Samdech will always remain the man who, from the outset of our resistance, expressed his firm belief in our victory and has not ceased to accord a vigorous support to our just cause.

At the present moment when, in our three countries, the national-liberation struggle is advancing with the impetus of victory and when the US imperialists' intervention and aggression have created an extremely grave situation, this Summit Conference of the Indochinese Peoples is a conference for tightening and strengthening the solidarity of the peoples of Cambodia, Laos and Viet Nam to pursue and step up our resolute and resolute fight till total victory. At the same time, it marks a new development of the close friendship and lasting co-operation in the future among our three peoples.

Faced with the danger of being definitively driven out of Indochina, and in the hope of getting out of their disastrous situation, the US imperialists are now putting into effect dark designs pursuant to the outdated "Nixon doctrine," "to make Indochinese fight Indochinese."

In Cambodia, after the coup d'état staged by the Lon Nol - Sirik Matak traitors, the US imperialists and their flunkeys have come up against ever wider and more vigorous resistance from the Cambodian people who are rising up in response to the March 23, 1970 Appeal of Samdech Head of State Norodom Sihanouk. In their panic, they have revealed their extremely reactionary features of fascists, savagely repressing the Khmer people and committing unpardonable savage crimes against Vietnamese nationals. They are being condemned by mankind and will certainly be punished by the Khmer people. For their part, the people and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam resolutely demand that the Lon Nol - Sirik Matak clique stop forthwith all acts of terror, massacre and discrimination against Vietnamese nationals and declare that they must be held responsible for the crimes they are perpetrating. The murderers of Vietnamese nationals will certainly have to pay for their crimes.

In Laos, the US imperialists have introduced many American troops and large quantities of weapons. Through the Lao rightist troops and armed forces of Thailand they have intensified the "special war," launched savage air raids and multiplied nibbling attacks on the liberated zone. But the patriotic armed forces and the heroic people of Laos have dealt them telling blows in the Plain of Jars and on all other battlefields, winning great, all-round victories and driving them into a position of passivity and defeat.

In Viet Nam, our long, arduous and heroic resistance against US aggression, for national salvation, has recorded great and all-round victories. The population of South Viet Nam have defeated the "special war" of the US, foiled one after another all its strategic plans in its "local war." With the impetus of victory they are developing their offensive position with the firm determination to defeat the more-than-one-million strong army of the US, puppets and satellites. The population of the socialist North have defeated the extremely atrocious war of destruction launched by the US while continuing successfully to build socialism, thus strengthening the economic potential and defence capabilities of the North, the "great rear" of the South and the solid base of the whole country. The defeat of the US imperialists is already evident, still, they are seeking to continue their war of aggression with their "Vietnamization" plan. It is because US President Nixon wants to prolong and extend the war of aggression instead of setting to real negotiation, that the Paris Conference is in a deadlock. Born of failure, the US plan for the "Vietnamization of the war" is in itself a failure. It is now failing and will certainly fail completely. The new wave of attacks by the South Viet Nam armed forces and people and their brilliant victories prove that the resistance forces have strengthened unceasingly in the fight and will certainly persist in, and step up, the struggle till complete victory. A few days ago, in his April 20, 1970 address, the US President once again repeated his stubborn contentions and carried on his tricky move on the withdrawal of more US troops. In fact this is aimed at delaying the withdrawal of American troops, prolonging indefinitely the occupation of South Viet Nam by the US aggressor army, and fooling American and world public opinion which is urgently demanding from the US government the quick and total withdrawal of American troops from South Viet Nam. A year ago, our great President Ho Chi Minh made clear that "the Vietnamese people firmly demand the withdrawal of all US and satellite troops, not only 25,000 or 250,000 or 500,000 men, but a total, complete and unconditional withdrawal," "as long as there is a single aggressor in our country, we must fight on to sweep him away."

As is known to everyone, the correct political solution to the Viet Nam problem has been clearly defined in the ten points of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam, of which two main points are:

First, rapid, complete and unconditional withdrawal of all American and satellite troops from Viet Nam.

Second, formation of a provisional coalition government in South Viet Nam with a view to the holding of free and democratic elections and the establishment of a coalition government in South Viet Nam.

In a word, the patriotic struggle of the peoples of Cambodia, Laos and Viet Nam is developing favourably, in close connection with the favourable development of the national-liberation movement and of the revolutionary cause of the world's people. The more the US imperialists frantically prolong and widen the war, pile up crimes against our three peoples, the bigger the difficulties and the heavier the setbacks they will meet in Indochina, in the United States itself and in the world.

In such a situation, this Summit Conference of the Indochinese Peoples, marked with complete identity of views from the outset of the preparatory work, is a great victory of the militant solidarity among our three peoples; it is an expression of our will to hold closer than ever together with a firm resolve to fight and defeat the US imperialists, the most cruel and dangerous enemy of the Indochinese peoples and of the whole mankind.

The people and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam fully support the five-point Proclamation of March 23, 1970 and the appeals of April 4 and 20, 1970 of Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, Head of State of Cambodia. We firmly support the heroic patriotic struggle of the Khmer people united in the National United Front of Kampuchea with the firm determination to overthrow the traitorous Lon Nol-Sirik Matak coup clique, to foil the schemes of intervention and aggression of the US imperialists to build an independent, free, peaceful, neutral and prosperous Cambodia. The Khmer people is animated by an ardent patriotism and endowed with a history of indomitable struggle against foreign aggression and an age-old brilliant civilization. We firmly believe that the Khmer people, united in the FUNK under the banner of Samdech Head of State Norodom Sihanouk, and fighting in solidarity with the Lao and Vietnamese peoples and with the support of the peace and progressive forces in the world, will win total victory.

The people and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam warmly acclaim the successive and brilliant victories of the Lao people who, under the leadership of His Highness Prince Souphanouvong, have smashed all the nibbling attacks by the US imperialists and their lackeys, have preserved and consolidated the liberated zone. We fully support the five point program advanced by the Lao Patriotic Front with a view to a peaceful settlement of the Lao problem on the basis of the 1962 Geneva Agreements on Laos and in keeping with the realities of the present situation in Laos. We firmly believe that the patriotic struggle of the valiant Lao people will be crowned with complete victory.

The people and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam greatly rejoice at the great victories recorded recently by their dear combatants and countrymen in the South, and are drawing therefrom an increased determination to fulfil their tasks of the "great rear" toward the "great fighting front." Over the past 40 years, our people have carried out the national and people's democratic revolution and the socialist revolution, they have undergone countless hardships and sacrifices, have waged a tenacious and protracted fight, and have gone from victory to victory. We will certainly win complete victory, since our countrymen throughout the country are closely united, are animated by a great revolutionary heroism and are waging a people's war: they have been launching continuous offensives against the enemy on all fronts in a tenacious and protracted fight. Our fight is closely linked to the revolutionary struggle of the world's people who have brought us a great and valuable international support, thus forming a very broad popular front of the world in support of Viet Nam against US aggression. Meanwhile, however big the US economic and defence potential may be, it is far from being unlimited. Moreover, the the US imperialists are defending an unjust cause, and are beset with multiple contradictions and difficulties in Viet Nam as well as in Cambodia and Laos, in the United States and in the rest of the world; they have sustained and are sustaining setbacks and will inevitably meet with total defeat. Our people throughout the country have engraved in their hearts the sacred Testament of our great President Ho Chi Minh, and are resolved to materialize his teaching:

"The resistance war against US aggression may drag out. Our countrymen may have to undergo new sacrifices in terms of property and human lives. In any case, we must be resolved to fight against the US aggressors till total victory."

The victories of the Vietnamese people prove that in the world of today, the peoples in Asia, Africa and Latin America who want to regain genuine independence and freedom must struggle against intervention and aggression by the US imperialists. It is important to uphold a firm will of struggle and a firm determination to fight perseveringly, then they will be able to fight and defeat the US imperialists, even if their country is not large and its population is not big. The Vietnamese people will defeat US imperialism, so will the Khmer and Lao peoples, and together with us, other peoples, victims of US intervention and aggression!

The people and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam have done their best and

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PRESIDENT NGUYEN HUU THO'S SPEECH

(Continued from page 6)

the world's people to stay their blood-stained hands.

The more ferocious the US imperialists and their agents are, the more rapid and humiliating their defeat. Everywhere in Cambodia, the various strata of the Khmer people have promptly responded to the national salvation appeal of Samdech Head of State Norodom Sihanouk, rallied within the National United Front of Kampuchea, stood up in a powerful struggle, using all methods including armed struggle to topple the traitors, henchmen of the enemy.

The just struggle of the Khmer people for a really independent, peaceful and neutral Cambodia, for lasting solidarity and friendship between the Khmer and Vietnamese peoples, will infallibly be crowned with glorious victory.

With regard to the Kingdom of Laos, in the past 15 years, the US imperialists have continually and systematically sabotaged the 1954 and 1962 Geneva Agreements, underminded the Lao national concord, and used their agents to wage a "special war" in Laos.

Recently, the US imperialists and their flunkeys headed by Phouma have climbed yet another rung in their war escalation, thus creating a particularly serious situation in Laos. They have stepped up their exterminatory bombing of the liberated zone, cynically introduced Thai mercenaries into Laos, tried to nibble at the liberated zone, and used Laos as a spring-board for aggression against the other Indochinese countries.

Under the clearsighted leadership of the Lao Patriotic Front headed by His Highness Souphanouvong, the brother Lao people, in close co-operation with the Lao Patriotic Neutralist Forces, have waged a most valiant struggle and successively foiled all tricky moves of the US imperialists and their hirelings.

Particularly, with the glorious Plain of Jars-Xieng Khoang victory, the heroic Lao army and people have smashed the plan to invade the liberated zone, dealt the first heavy blows at the US "special war," foiled Nixon's cruel policy of making "Asians fight Asians," and "Laotians kill Laotians." At present, while advancing on the crest of victory, the Lao Patriotic Front is seeking a peaceful settlement of the Lao problem by the Lao themselves without foreign interference. The just position full of good will of the Lao Patriotic Front, expounded in the five-point political solution, has won warm approval from the Lao people of various strata and firm support from the people throughout the world.

Your Highnesses,

Your Excellencies,

Dear friends,

THE peoples of South Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia have recorded the above victories at the cost of innumerable sacrifices and hardships.

The brilliant victories of the Indochinese peoples have weakened the position of the US imperialists inside the United States as well as in the world, and have created for them very great difficulties in all spheres. These victories are not only victories of the firm and indomitable struggle of each of our peoples and of the friendship and militant solidarity between the peoples of the three Indochinese countries, but also the common success of the movements for national liberation and for peace, independence, democracy and social progress in South-East Asia and the rest of the world. Our victories have proved that when a people are determined to fight for the independence and freedom of their country, they are fully capable of defeating any aggressor, be it US imperialism, with its enormous economic and military potential.

Despite their bitter defeats, the US imperialists remain very obdurate, bellicose and perfidious. They have not yet given up their designs to grab Indochina and turn the Indochinese countries into their new-type colonies and military bases.

In the vain hope of avoiding their inevitable defeat in South Viet Nam, the US imperialists have sought to widen the war to the whole of Indochina, to knock together a reactionary alliance of their agents in Saigon, Phnom Penh, Vientiane and Bangkok. This alliance constitutes a tool for the US imperialists to carry out Nixon's policy of making "Indochinese fight Indochinese" and "Asians fight Asians," thus creating an extremely grave situation in this region and threatening peace in Asia and the world as a whole.

In face of such a situation, more than ever before, the Indochinese peoples must heighten their vigilance, close in their ranks, strengthen their solidarity and mutual assistance. They are resolved to devote might and main, creativeness and determination, to the struggle against the common enemy — the US imperialist aggressors and their flunkeys. Only by so doing can the Indochinese peoples wrest back real independence and peace, free themselves from foreign domination, and enjoy the right to be master of their destiny and build their country along their own line.

Proceeding from the principle that the liberation and defence of a country are the affair of the people of that country, and in consideration of the urgent necessity for the Indochinese peoples to strengthen solidarity and mutual support to wage concerted struggle against the common enemy, the National Front for Liberation and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam will do their utmost and shrink from no sacrifice, in resolutely leading the South Viet Nam people to boost their struggle against US aggression, for national salvation, till total victory, to liberate the South, defend the North and proceed to the peaceful reunification of their country.

We consider this a sacred task toward our people, a more active support to the building of socialism of our countrymen in the North, to the national liberation of our brothers and neighbours, the Khmer and Lao peoples, and a concrete contribution to the safeguarding of peace in Indochina, Asia and the rest of the world.

With regard to Cambodia, the people, National Front for Liberation, and Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam reaffirm their unswerving basic policy of constantly strengthening the relations of friendship and good neighbourhood, scrupulously respecting the independence, sovereignty, neutrality, unity and territorial integrity of the Kingdom of Cambodia within her existing borders, not interfering in the Khmer people's internal affairs, totally supporting the solemn five-point Declaration of March 23, 1970 of Head of State Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, and wholeheartedly supporting the patriotic struggle of the Khmer people. They pledge themselves to stand side by side with the brother Khmer people in the struggle against the common enemy.

With regard to Laos, the National Front for Liberation and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam reaffirm their unshakable solidarity, friendship, and good-neighbour policy, and fully support the just war of resistance of the Lao people against US aggression, for national salvation, with a view to realizing the noble objectives of their struggle, namely peace, independence, neutrality, unity, democracy and prosperity. Once again, allow us to reiterate our total support to the five-point Declaration of March 6, 1970 of the Lao Patriotic Front urging the US to put an end to its aggressive war, halt all bombing and shelling of the Lao territory, and withdraw the US troops and Thai mercenaries from Laos. This is a very correct basis for the peaceful settlement of the Lao problem, letting the Lao people settle their own affairs without foreign interference.

With a view to constantly enhancing the fraternal friendship and consolidating the militant solidarity between the Indochinese peoples, our delegation proposes that the parties proceed to frequent consultations so as to exchange their opinions on the situation and the tasks to be carried out in order to lead the national-liberation struggle of the Indochinese peoples against the US imperialists to yet bigger victories.

Your Highnesses,

Your Excellencies,

Dear friends,

THE US imperialists and their stooges have sustained and continue to sustain repeated heavy defeats in Viet Nam, Cambodia and Laos. Their global strategy, their "special war" and "local war" strategies, as well as the Nixon doctrine of making "Asians fight Asians" have gone through hard trials, have been foiled and will ultimately go bankrupt. No effort of the US imperialists and their flunkeys can turn back the wheel of history or retrieve their defeat in Indochina.

With the flush of their victories, the people of South Viet Nam, Cambodia and Laos are fully conscious of the propitious historic situation and of their glorious but very heavy mission. They are resolved to hold higher the banner of independence, peace, neutrality and strengthen their solidarity in mutual respect and assistance and to struggle valiantly and perseveringly.

Enjoying the sympathy and support of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and the other socialist countries, the nationalist countries and friends in the five continents including the progressive people in the United States, the South Vietnamese people will certainly win total victory over the US aggressors and their hirelings.

He who sows the wind will reap the whirlwind. The US imperialists and their lackeys, who have perpetrated utterly barbarous crimes against the Indochinese peoples, will be charred by the flames of indignation of our peoples. The storm of revolution in Indochina will infallibly sweep them away so as to return to Indochina its pure skies and so that the great family of the Indochinese peoples may live in harmony, happiness and peace.

We extend our best wishes for brilliant successes to our conference.

Thank you for your attention.

PRINCE SOUPHANOUVONG'S ADDRESS

Mr. President,

Messrs Delegates,

THE Delegation of the Lao people notes with high elation that our Summit Conference of the Indochinese Peoples has been a complete success and a big victory of our three peoples.

Five years ago, the previous Conference of the Indochinese Peoples was a victory. We still remember that at a grand meeting in Phnom Penh, after the Conference's Resolution was read out, cheers and applause burst out from all the participants, mingled to this song of the Khmer youth:

"No force on earth can resist the unity and solidarity

Let's unite to drive the imperialists out of our countries."

The Conference's Resolution strongly inspired our three peoples of Indochina, and had wide repercussions in the world.

Since then, our three peoples have unceasingly recorded big victories in the course of their struggle against US aggression, for national salvation. The Americans are losing in Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia. By using the Lon Nol-Sirik Matak to stage a coup d'état against Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, Head of State of Cambodia, and against the Khmer people, and to massacre the civilian population with utmost barbarity, they have shown still more clearly the impasse and quandary they have been driven to. As is rightly pointed out in the Joint Declaration of the present Summit Conference of the Indochinese Peoples, the victories we have recorded demonstrate that "for all their brutal force, the US imperialists are beaten when they encroach on the sacred right to life of a people united and determined to fight through to the end for the independence and freedom of the Fatherland."

The 1965 Conference of the Indochinese Peoples had its important historic significance. Our present Summit Conference of the Indochinese Peoples convened on the initiative of Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, Head of State of Cambodia and President of the National United Front of Kampuchea, is planting a landmark in the history of the militant solidarity of our three peoples.

At a time when the US imperialists and their agents are in the grips of failure and disarray and are finding themselves in a position of passivity in Cambodia, Laos and South Viet Nam, the successes of the present Conference, more particularly its Joint Declaration, will certainly and vigorously inspire our three peoples to increase mutual support and push ahead still more actively their armed struggle as well as their struggle under all appropriate forms. The world's people will increase their confidence in us and give us positive support, aware as they are that our three peoples are scoring more and more victories, military as well as political, tightening their ranks and their bonds of solidarity, and demonstrating their determination together to overcome all difficulties so as to defeat the common enemy—the US imperialists and their agents, the traitors.

These days, there has been much talk in the US camp about the solidarity in the anti-US struggle of our three peoples in the peninsula. This amply proves that the Americans are afraid of the strength of our unity. The perfidious manoeuvres in the so-called withdrawal of American troops and the slanderous allegations about the patriotic struggle of the three Indochinese peoples which US President Nixon once again rehashed in his address on April 20 can never fool public opinion in the US and the world which is energetically demanding an unconditional withdrawal at the earliest date of all US and satellite troops from Indochina. Instead they only enhance the militant solidarity of the three peoples of Indochina and intensify our common struggle against the US interventionists and aggressors. The total success of our Conference and its Joint Declaration are precisely stunning blows dealt at them.

We are convinced that every combatant of the Lao patriotic armed forces as well as every one of our Lao people will manifest the same enthusiastic sentiments as we do today on learning of the success of the Conference, and will bring into full play the success of our Conference in all fields. The Lao army and people are resolved to bring to failure all the plunderous acts of the US imperialists and all the traitorous acts of their stooges, and realize at all costs the 12-point Political Program of the Lao Patriotic Front and heroically march forward to bring a worthy share to the materialisation of the Conference's Joint Declaration.

Our Lao people are resolved to march side by side with the Khmer people and the Vietnamese people in the fight to chase the US aggressors out as well as in the building of their Fatherland.

We wish all delegates good health.

PREMIER PHAM VAN DONG'S SPEECH AT THE OPENING SESSION

(Continued from page 7)

will do their best to develop the fraternal friendship and good neighbourly relations between Viet Nam, Cambodia and Laos, in accordance with the five principles of peaceful co-existence: mutual respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity; non-aggression; mutual respect for the political regime and non-interference in the internal affairs; equality and mutual benefit; peaceful co-existence. The people and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam once again declare recognition of, and pledge respect for, the territorial integrity of Cambodia within her present borders. The Vietnamese people pledge themselves always to side with the fraternal Khmer and Lao peoples, in mutual esteem and respect, in cordial solidarity and devoted mutual support in the struggle against the common enemy, and in a long-term co-operation with a view to national construction according to the road and abilities of each people.

The Vietnamese people and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam express their sincere and profound gratitude to the peoples of the socialist countries, the Asian, African and Latin American countries, the peace- and justice-loving people in the world including the progressive people in the United States, for their sympathy with, and their vigorous support and assistance to, our struggle against US aggression, for national salvation.

Together with the Cambodian and Lao peoples, the Vietnamese people express full support to the struggle of the world's people against the aggressive and war-seeking US imperialists, for the lofty goals of our times; to the struggle of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples for independence and freedom; to the struggle of the Chinese people for recovering Taiwan, an inseparable territory of the People's Republic of China; to the struggle of the Korean people against the US imperialist aggressors for liberating South Korea and achieving national reunification; to the struggle of the Arab people for their fundamental national rights against the Israeli aggressors — stooges of US imperialism; support the American people's struggle against the war of aggression, against racial discrimination, for peace and the true interests of the United States.

Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, Head of State of Cambodia, President of the National United Front of Kampuchea,

Messrs Heads of delegation,

Dear friends,

THIS Summit Conference of the Indochinese Peoples is a conference for enhancing solidarity and promoting our fight which is sure to win victory. With the strong sympathy and support of the socialist camp and the various governments and peoples in the world, our just cause will certainly be crowned with glorious victory, the national rights of the Cambodia, Lao and Vietnamese peoples will be realized in accordance with the spirit of the Geneva Agreements of 1954 and 1962. Indochina will become an independent and peaceful zone, in accordance with the aspirations of our three peoples. This will be a positive contribution to the cause of peace, national independence, democracy and social progress in the world.

PRESIDENT NGUYEN HUU THO'S ADDRESS

Samdech Head of State Norodom, Sihanouk,

Your Highness President Souphanouvong,

My dear brother Premier Pham Van Dong,

Your Highnesses,

Your Excellencies,

Dear friends,

AFTER two days of hard work, the Summit Conference of the Indochinese Peoples is crowned with success. This historic Conference constitutes a powerful blow dealt at the US imperialists and their henchmen, who are making all-out efforts to prolong and widen the war in Indochina. It is also a powerful blow dealt at the "Nixon doctrine" of making Asians fight Asians.

Our Conference reflects not only the spirit of unshakable solidarity between the peoples of our three countries but also the iron-like determination of the Indochinese peoples in their struggle against the US imperialists and their stooges. The Joint Declaration unanimously adopted by our four delegations is a severe verdict against the US imperialist aggressors, against the prolongation of their ferocious war of aggression in South Viet Nam, against their violations of the territory and security of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, their intensification of the "special war" in Laos and their sabotage of the independence and neutrality of the Kingdom of Cambodia.

Proceeding from the principle that the liberation and the defence of each country are the affairs of its people, the Joint Declaration pointed out that the peoples of our three countries have at present the urgent task to "strengthen their solidarity and step up their fight against the common enemy—American imperialism and its lackeys in the three countries—till total victory."

The Joint Declaration constitutes for our three countries a Programme of struggle against US imperialism. It strongly encourages the Indochinese peoples to march ahead, resolved to fight and defeat the American aggressors.

Materializing the Testament of the Great President Ho Chi Minh, the people, the National Front for Liberation and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam are ever more determined to hold aloft the banner of independence and freedom and devote might and main to push ahead their patriotic struggle against the US aggressors, to liberate South Viet Fam, defend North Viet Nam and proceed to the peaceful reunification of our Fatherland, thus joining our efforts to those of the brother peoples of Cambodia and Laos in order to defeat all the dark and perfidious manoeuvres of the US imperialists and their agents.

The South Vietnamese people are for ever grateful to the Khmer people under the leadership of Samdech Head of State Norodom Sihanouk, to the Lao people under the leadership of the Lao Patriotic Front headed by His Highness Prince Souphanouvong, for their sympathy with, and support and assistance to, our struggle against US aggression, for national salvation. The South Vietnamese people are for ever grateful to the socialist countries and the progressive peoples and governments all over the world for their considerable and efficacious support.

We firmly believe that shoulder to shoulder and closely uniting with our dear brothers in North Viet Nam, with the approval, support and assistance of the brother peoples of Cambodia and Laos as well as those of the people all over the world, including the American people, the South Vietnamese people will surely win final victory and realize their sacred aims, namely independence, democracy, peace, neutrality, prosperity and ultimate peaceful reunification of our country. We are convinced that in the light of the Joint Declaration of the Summit Conference of the Indochinese Peoples, the fight for independence, peace and neutrality of the peoples of South Viet Nam, Cambodia and Laos will certainly win final vitory; that US imperialism will be driven out of the Indochinese peninsula, and our three peoples, co-operating and helping one another in the spirit of mutual respect, will rebuild our beautiful countries and live for ever in good neighbourhood and in peace on the Indochinese peninsula.

Long live the unbreakable solidarity of the three peoples of Viet Nam, Cambodia and Laos!

The Indochinese peoples will win!

US imperialism and its henchmen will inevitably be defeated!

PREMIER PHAM VAN DONG'S ADDRESS

Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, Head of State of Cambodia, President of the National United Front of Kampuchea,

Your Highness Prince Souphanouvong, Chairman of the Lao Patriotic Front,

President Nguyen Huu Tho, President of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation,

Dear friends,

OUR Summit Conference of the Indochinese Peoples has been a complete success. The Joint Declaration that we have unanimously a lopted is a historic document marking a very important step forward in the patriotic struggle of our three peoples. It manifests the will to enhance solidarity and the determination to push ahead the fight, and represents the will and determination of the peoples of Cambodia, Laos and Viet Nam who are standing up to wrest back their right to be masters of the destiny of their Fatherland.

With this Summit Conference of the Indochinese Peoples, our three peoples are holding firmly in hand the factor determining our victory. However long and hard our struggle may be, however crafty and brutal manoeuvres US imperialism, other imperialisms and their lackeys may resort to, the militant solidarity of the peoples of Cambodia, Laos and Viet Nam, rallied each within the national united front of their country, will enable them to win complete victory. Our three peoples will surely defeat the US imperialist aggressors and their flunkeys, and will succeed in safeguarding the fundamental principles of the 1954 and 1962 Geneva Agreements, and ensuring the exercise of the sacred national rights of each people. Our three peoples have always shown high vigilance and a firm determination to break all attempts of the US imperialist aggressors to put into effect the so-called Nixon doctrine. They are at the same time resolved to smash all manoeuvres of the other imperialists and the other reactionary organizations and forces in Asia and the world such as the so-called "Asian Conference on the Cambodian problem" being projected by the Indonesian reactionaries, which manoeuvres are intended to destroy our solidarity and our just, certainly victorious fight.

For their part, the Vietnamese people are more than ever before resolved to pursue perseveringly and promote their war of resistance against US aggression, for national salvation, to build up their forces and win ever bigger victories as they fight, to develop their struggle on the treble front, military, political and diplomatic fields, so as to liberate the South, defend the North and proceed towards the peaceful reunification of their country. At the same time, they unreservedly support the patriotic struggle of the brotherly peoples of Cambodia and Laos.

Our nation is endowed with traditions of loyalty and fidelity to our friends and respect for moral principles. Today, the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam is a socialist country consistently faithful to proletarian internationalism. The Vietnamese people and the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam will unswervingly abide by the sacred commitments inscribed in the Joint Declaration of our Conference. Having shed so much blood for national independence and freedom, resolved not to tolerate any intervention and aggression by the imperialists, the Vietnamese people and the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam will always respect the independence, sovereignty, all the national rights and the political regimes of their two neighbour countries in Indochina as well as of any other country.

We Vietnamese will be for ever deeply grateful to the leaders and brotherly peoples of Cambodia and Laos for their generous support and assistance to our struggle against US aggression, for national salvation. The Vietnamese people and the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam are firmly determined to fulfil their obligations aimed at strengthening the great militant solidarity between our three countries and we will always remain worthy of the noble sentiments you reserve for us. For generations to come, the relations between the peoples of our three countries will be relations of mutual affection and esteem, militant solidarity in the struggle against the common enemy, lasting co-operation and mutual assistance with a view to building our countries according to the road and abilities of our own peoples.

All problems concerning the relations between our three countries can be settled through negotiations in the spirit of mutual respect, mutual understanding and mutual assistance.

Let our enemy be careful!

The Summit Conference of the Indochinese Peoples marks a new development and opens still brighter vistas for the just fight of our three peoples for independence and freedom. Big victories are awaiting us. With our militant solidarity, with the sympathy and strong support and assistance of the peoples of the socialist countries, the Asian, African and Latin American peoples and the peace-loving and progressive people in the world, including the progressive people in the United States, the patriotic struggle of the Cambodian, Lao and Vietnamese peoples will certainly win complete victory.

Samdech Norodom Sihanouk's...

(Continued from page 12)

in defiance of the legitimate aspirations of our peoples.

The world ought to know that the Indochina problem is very simple. The 1954 Geneva Agreements had guaranteed to us peace, unity and independence.

The USA alone has violated and is violating them. The question is, therefore, to compel it purely and simply to withdraw without delay and without condition all their troops and those of their "allies," and the problem will be *ipso facto* resolved.

As for the problems of reunification of Viet Nam and Laos, and that of the regimes that the Vietnamese, the Lao and the Cambodians would like to give themselves respectively, they do not concern any country other than Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia respectively.

On behalf of people's Cambodia, I declare to deny beforehand to the UNO and to the foreign powers any right to interfere in our affairs and to help, by any means whatsoever, US imperialism and the puppet regime at its devotion, to maintain themselves in our country.

In this respect, the Khmer people denounce the perfidious manoeuvre of the lackeys by appointment of US imperialism, de-Asianized Asians, who propose to hold a so-called "Asian" conference allegedly to save Camdodia and peace.

Now what are the countries approached for this conference?

There are simply "non-aligned" very visibly aligned with the USA, anti-popular and anti-socialist on the one hand, SEATO members and formal allies of the USA on the other, and also... two countries which are more Western European than Asian by their population and their politico-ideological orientation, let alone the fact that they own allegiance to the USA and are together with it, aggressors against South Viet Nam!

A conference composed of such participants would have no Asian and still less peaceful character.

It would be only a contemptible and ridiculous masquerade behind which the little honourable Uncle Sam could hardly hide himself.

This "Uncle Sam," since he was incarnated in the person of President Nixon, has "excelled" in the art of camouflaging the intolerable interferences in the internal and national affairs of the Indochinese peoples and the criminal aggressions against the same peoples perpetrated by US imperialism and neo-colonialism, under the cloak of fake innocence, fake pacifism and fake respect for the sovereignty of our three countries.

In this connection, the televised address delivered on April 20 by the US Head of the Executive is very typical of this "art."

To speak only of my country, Cambodia, we can pick up flagrant and inadmissible untruths.

Thus the aggression committed by fascist reactionaries in the payroll of the CIA against their own people has become in Nixon's mouth a communist aggression against Cambodia and her neutrality.

Thus the escalation of the war in Cambodia as well as in Laos has become in the same mouth a work of North Vietnamese leaders and "Hanoi and Hanoi alone, that stands today blocking the path to a just peace for the peoples of South-East Asia." (*sic.*)

The impudence reaches its height when Nixon advised the DRVN to allow [our] peoples "to determine their own future free of any outside interference" (*sic.*) when he affirmed that the Americans "want to end this war and achieve a just peace," demanded that the Indochinese peoples' liberation forces withdraw from Indochina and threatened to delay the withdrawal of US troops in case our peoples would continue to struggle against US neo-colonialism and the puppet regimes.

The Khmer people have known and know only one aggressor — US imperialism which has sent and is sending on a regular basis, its aircraft and helicopters to indiscriminately bomb and strafe our country and its inhabitants, which has sent and is sending its armoured cars, its infantrymen and those of the Thieu-Ky-Khiem traitors deep into our national territory to sow death and destruction, which now entrusts the Saigon puppet administration and the Indonesian renegade Adam Malik with transporting arms and ammunition to Phnom Penh to make it possible for its other agents named Lon Nol and Sirik Matak to do better in massacring their own people and the peaceful Vietnamese residents, beginning with women, old people and children who are called "Viet Cong soldiers" by the despicable self-styled Brigadier-General Sroy Saman at a recent press conference in Paris!

The cynicism of the US President reaches its highest level when he demands that the resistance forces of our three peoples pull out of their own countries in response to the withdrawal of a part of the US forces and especially when our resistance becomes on our own soil a "foreign interference."

Where should our liberation armies move to? To the United States of America?

And would the US troops, aggressors of our Indochina, have become — by what "operation of the Holy Ghost?" — "pure-blooded Indochinese?"

Who has escalated the war in Laos and in Cambodia?

Are the daily 1,000 air raids of the US Air Force launched from the Gia Lam air base?

Do the "Columbia Eagle" and the "Caribou" transport aircraft carrying a new arsenal of arms for the Lon Nol-Sirik Matak criminals and their mercenaries happen to belong to General Vo Nguyen Giap?

Are the hundreds of CIA "special advisors" landed in Vientiane and the dozens of "special advisors" of the same CIA recently landed from US helicopters in Svay Rieng town a "gift" of Premier Pham Van Dong?

Who blocks the path to peace in Indochina?

Is it the Khmer people, the Lao people, the Vietnamese people who are asking only to live in peace, but without accepting US neo-colonialism or this US neo-colonialism itself and its mercenaries armed to the teeth coming from South Korea, Taiwan, Thailand, the Philippines, Australia and New-Zealand? Are these people more "Indochinese" than us, Khmer, Lao and Vietnamese?

Mr. Nixon has not to give us lessons on the principle of self-determination of the peoples.

The Indochinese peoples do not know what to do with US foreign aid and still less with US presence "to determine their future."

We demand that Mr. Nixon withdraw without delay and without condition his troops and those of his non-Indochinese satellites from our Indochina and leave us alone to fight the traitors, the Indochinese renegades of Phnom Penh, Vientiane and Saigon. That is the Indochinese peoples' true right to self-determination.

With regard to the Nixon threat of delaying the withdrawal of the US forces from Indochina, it does not and will not impress in any way our three fighting peoples who are from now on united in a single front and who know that unity is and will be an invincible force.

Finally we advise the Asian renegades, these de-Asianized Asians of Adam Malik and Thanat Khoman type, and who are a little everywhere around our Indochina to moderate their servile indecency *vis-à-vis* their US imperialist master.

Their so-called Asian Conference on Cambodia can in no way save their pro-US traitorous partners who are now in Phnom Penh and their ridiculous "Asian front" smacks of such a US odour that the world's people including the American people would neither be deceived by it nor have any illusion about its future and its efficiency.

This "Asian Front" will tumble down like a house of cards under the blows to be dealt by our Indochinese peoples' front if it ever dares set foot on the soil of our Indochina.

Not only will the Thieu-Ky-Adam Malik-Thanat Khoman not be able to save Lon Nol and Sirik Matak from the total collapse which will be awaiting their regime in the near future, but they will not be able to save their own skin or that of the moribund US neo-colonialist imperialism.

IN conclusion, the progressive, anti-fascist and anti-imperialist Khmer people, united in the FUNK and the National Liberation Army, is determined to fight and fight through to the end, while refusing all compromise and rejecting in advance all idea of partition of Cambodia, in order to unremittingly showdown the blood-thirsty, anti-popular and anti-Indochinese regime of the Lon Non-Sirik Matak clique and, together with the people's forces of fraternal Viet Nam and Laos, resolutely drive the US imperialists out of Indochina.

PEOPLE'S Cambodia, through me, expresses her heartfelt, very warm and affectionate gratitude to the People's Republic of China for her generous hospitality and all facilities accorded by her to the Cambodian Delegation.

People's Cambodia also conveys her very warm and friendly thanks and congratulations to the Lao Patriotic Front, the National Front for Liberation and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam for the brilliant and very important part played by their respective delegations headed by such outstanding and heroic personalities in bringing this Conference to success.

Long live the united Peoples of Indochina!

SAMDECH NORODOM SIHANOUK'S OPENING SPEECH

(Continued from page 3)

a solution which had already gone bankrupt at the time of Ngo Dinh Diem — the so-called "Vietnamization."

With regard to my country, they have considered themselves to be seriously wronged by our flat refusal to align ourselves on them and our indefectible solidarity with the sacred struggle of the South Vietnamese people for the liberation of their country.

And it is out of despair of being ever able to change this indomitable spirit of the Khmer people that they have had the prestige, unity, peace, independence, neutrality, progress, dignity, good Buddhist repute of our Kampuchea destroyed in a few days by the Lon Nol-Sirik Matak clique; they are attempting to tip our country into their camp, putting the usurpers in the same "basket" as the regimes of the Thieu-Ky's, Pak Jung Hi's, Chiang Kai-shek's, Kittikachorn's and other Asian renegades, while making the Khmer renegades don the bloody mask of fascism and nazism in their most racialist, most anti-popular and most sanguinary features.

THE second Conference of our three peoples, inasmuch as it is placed on a top level, will also bring to the "top" the extent of militant and combatant solidarity of the Lao, Vietnamese and Khmer peoples, the latter being forced by the March 18 coup d'état to give up their peaceful neutrality to fight in a united front and shoulder to shoulder with the two other fraternal peoples, till their sovereignty, freedom, neutrality (which could rule out neither their anti-imperialism nor their solidarity with the Vietnamese and Lao peoples) are given back to them.

Our Conference which regards as a foregone conclusion the victory of the Indochinese peoples, powerfully supported by the great Chinese people and the other peoples of the world, over US imperialism and its lackeys, will also lay down the foundations of the future co-operation of our three peoples and of our three countries with regard to national reconstruction and building and the development of the national economy, in mutual respect for the sovereignty, independence, internal regime, and territorial integrity of each country.

Finally, our Conference will show that the Khmer, Lao and Vietnamese peoples are the most united in the world, and that our union, our solidarity, our co-operation forged in the common struggle first against French colonialism, then against US neo-colonialism, will be a powerful factor of peace and stability in the South-East Asia of tomorrow, and an important contribution to the victory of the other oppressed peoples in the Third World in their present and forthcoming struggle against the oppressors of whom US imperialism remains the ringleader and the most dangerous.

IT is in this conviction that, with your permission, respected brothers and sisters, and after paying tribute to the memory of all the Indochinese heroes fallen for their respective Fatherlands, I declare open the Summit Conference of the Indochinese Peoples.

Glory to our three peoples!

Signing of the Joint Declaration

SAMDECH NORODOM SIHANOUK'S CLOSING SPEECH

Your Highness and Your Excellencies Heads of delegation,

Dear brothers and sisters,

CONTRARY to so many other international conferences, the Summit Conference of the Indochinese Peoples, though it aims at attaining very important objectives for the present and the future of these peoples, has not dragged out.

The brevity of our Conference and its total success bring to the world the testimony of the union without fault, of the absolute solidarity and the complete community of views, aspirations and determination of our three peoples and of their leaders.

French colonialism had formerly (and unvoluntarily) brought us nearer together and aroused in us a sentiment of solidarity.

But, "to render to Caesar the things that are Caesar's," it is to the aggression of the US imperialists and the anti-popular regimes in their service that belongs the "merit" of cementing now and for ever our unity which is related to the birth of an "Indochinese consciousness," to our fighting solidarity, to our co-operation for progress, and which, nevertheless, does not rule out a strict respect for the national independence, sovereignty, frontiers, regime or the ideology of each of our three nations.

As the saying goes, "it is an ill wind that blows nobody good." The aggressions of the USA in Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia, as well as the setting up of anti-popular regimes by the care of the US imperialists' "special services" in certain of our capitals have greatly accelerated the process of unification of the hearts and minds of our three peoples, and consequently, of the forthcoming and irreversible perceful alliance of our three countries.

This process of union and co-operation is perfectly in line with the trend of History in the same way as that of de-colonization or rather of liberation of the oppressed peoples of the Third World.

"Yesterday," the colonialist powers divided these peoples to "rule," and they accepted to "de-colonize" them only after being defeated with weapons.

Today the imperialists and neo-colonialists have taken the place of the colonialists.

We must not hope to ward off the mortal danger they represent through diplomacy, negotiations, conferences or even friendly neutrality.

Armed struggle alone can remove this danger wherever it sets in.

The 1954 Geneva Agreements had recognized to Cambodia, Laos and Viet Nam the right to live in peace, national unity and complete independence.

Of all the powers having to shoulder responsibilities of international order, only the USA refused to sign these Agreements.

They soon began violating them in aggressing Viet Nam then Laos, and preventing by force the reunification of Viet Nam explicitly envisaged for 1956.

The USA is also responsible for the advent in Indochina of the horrors of fascism which was rife in South Viet Nam in particular under Ngo Dinh Diem and Ngo Dinh Nhu, and which is now rife in Cambodia under Lon Nol and Sirik Matak.

The revival of the mass assassination and genocidal practice of the defunct Hitlerite regime is the work of the "special forces" of the US imperialist themselves as is evidenced by the martyrology of Ben Suc, Son My, Ba Lang An, Khanh Lam, etc. The martyrology of Prasaut, Takeo, Kompong Cham, Angtassom, "Catholic villages," "signed" Lon Nol, is of the same style, and on a greater scale.

My country Cambodia, because during too long a time it believed it was possible to achieve peaceful coexistence with US imperialism, is now living the darkest and most dishonouring period in its nearly bi-millenary history which had remained stainless before March 1970.

To be sure, the Khmer people regret their "peace" and their "joy of living" which have been lost now. But they know that they must accept all sacrifices and difficulties to gain a life of dignity with security, social justice, democracy and progress.

It is in this conviction that they enthusiastically join the camp of fighting and revolutionary peoples, and will struggle shoulder to shoulder, in a united front, with the fraternal peoples of Viet Nam and Laos, all three enjoying the total, constant and extremely powerful support of the glorious and invincible Chinese people under the aegis of their great and very illustrious guide, President Mao Tse-tung.

And it is in the same conviction that they resolutely condemn the diplomatic and other manoeuvres which under cover of sham pacifism, aim at saving US imperialism from its inevitable defeat in Indochina and safeguarding in South Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia, the shaky position of this imperialism and the puppet governments in its trail.

In effect, what would mean a new "Geneva Conference" if it would not lead to a unanimous condemnation of the USA as the only violators of the basic Agreements of 1954 concerning our three countries.

Certain big powers want to achieve through a new international conference a new partition of our Indochina and a first partition of Cambodia into "zones of influence," while allowing the USA and the puppets to maintain themselves unduly in power in certain Indochinese capitals,

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